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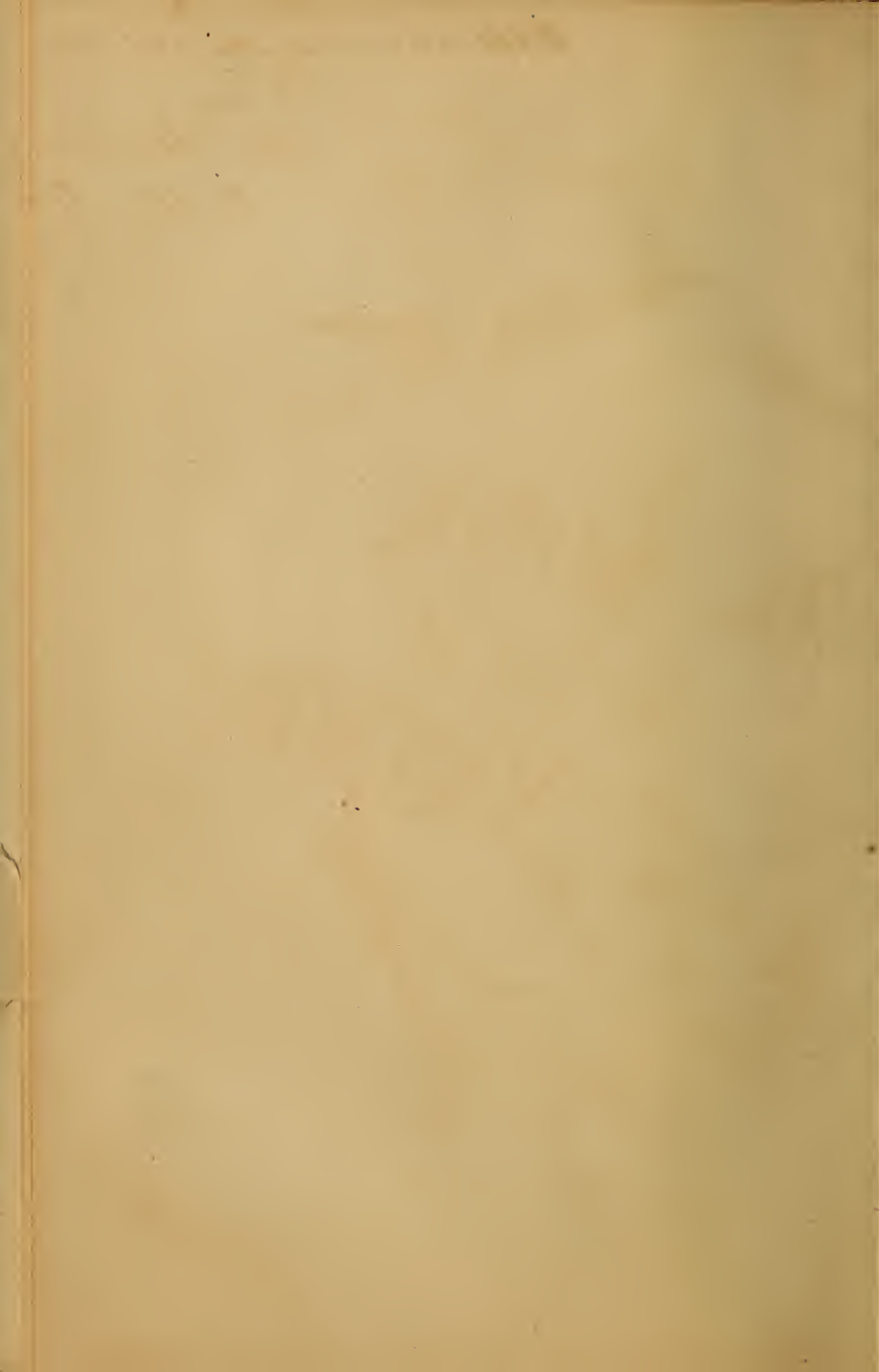










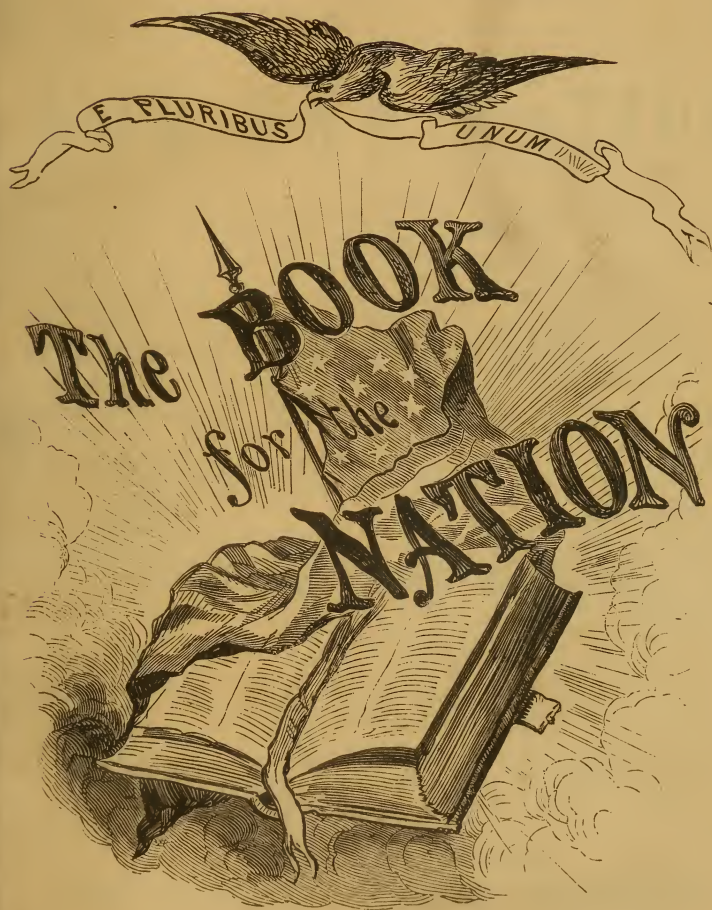




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THE  
HISTORICAL  
SOCIETY  
OF  
MASSACHUSETTS

THE BOOK  
FOR THE NATION  
AND  
THE TIMES.

BY  
A CITIZEN U.S.N.A.



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TO THE PEOPLE  
Of the United States;  
FROM MAINE TO TEXAS,  
AND FROM OREGON TO FLORIDA;  
OUR GREAT AND FREE REPUBLIC,  
ONE AND INDIVISIBLE:  
HOPING THEY MAY TEND  
TO ITS STRENGTH AND STABILITY,  
THESE PAGES  
ARE AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED,  
BY THE AUTHOR,  
A C. U. S. N. A.





## THE BOOK FOR THE NATION.

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STOP! my fellow-citizens, stop! Why be carried headlong, we know not whither, by the rapid current of these excited times? Stop! and let us reason together. You love your country, and fondly desire for it, honor, greatness, and prosperity. But is it not FOR US to make it honorable, great and prosperous? How can we expect it to be such, unless WE make it such? What do we need, then, in order to be great and happy as a nation? Only one thing; and that one thing is GOODNESS. All know that we can never be truly great, without being *good*. Without goodness, there may seem to be greatness for a time; but the evil day is sure to come. *Goodness* is the very soul and vitality of *greatness*, and of *happiness*. God is infinitely great and happy, because he is infinitely good. Let us, as a nation, be like him in the one respect, and we shall be like him in the other. He is the fountain, and the model, of all that is truly great and good; and let it be our aim and ambition, to bring up our national character to the resemblance of that exalted model.

Are we not a Christian people? We surely believe in God. We believe that he is, and that he is our Sove-

reign Ruler. We believe that he is good, and that we ought to be like him, and to seek his favor. But if we refuse to listen to his voice, how can we be or do either? If we refuse to be guided by his counsel, how can we be like him, or he be pleased with us? To have our nation conformed to him, and pleasing in his sight, it must be our effort to mould it by his WILL. And now, when our nation is heaving and shaking, and passing through this great revolution, let us stop and consider what is the matter; and what it really needs, in order to make it, in all time to come, both prosperous and secure. If we love our country, and would have it redeemed from all its evils, how can we refuse to do this? And if we love our country, and desire its redemption, and enduring exaltation, how can we refuse the application to it, of those principles of divine, eternal truth, without which every nation must eventually totter and fall. "For the nation and kingdom, that will not serve the cause of righteousness, shall perish."—*The mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.*

It is not for an avowedly Christian people, to turn away from the subject with the impression that it is merely religious; nor is it by any means such. All-important state matters are involved; matters comprehending the best and dearest interests of the nation. True, indeed, the subject embraces our duty to God, as a nation, and has, therefore, its religious aspect; but has none the less its political aspect also. Nor should any be alarmed about a blending together of religion and politics; as any such alarm would be quite irrational. Because, without a constant blending of politics and religion, it is utterly impossible for national duties to be dis-

charged. All duties owing to civil society are twofold in their nature. Divine claims are involved, as well as human; and their discharge is, therefore, a religious duty. In its nature, the oath administered in our courts of justice, is a solemn act of religious worship. Rendering obedience to civil authority has its religious aspect, because God requires it. And so also has the administration of civil government; for it is his ordinance, and its officers are the "ministers of God." The notion of keeping separate politics and religion, is silly and absurd; it is worse, for it is wicked. Religion ought to be blended with politics always and everywhere. That is, all state matters ought to be leavened with religion, but religion ought never to be leavened with politics. Men ought to be influenced, not by sectarianism, which is not religion, but by "pure and undefiled religion," in all their management of state affairs. The spirit and principles of this religion ought to be carried everywhere, and men be ruled by them, whatever they do, *in their politics*, as in all things else. It is not at all improbable, that the effort to separate religion from politics, has been in no small measure the bane of our nation. If men lay aside their religion, and disregard its claims, when engaged in politics, how can they prosper? To suppose they could, would be absurd. And a nation or people who attempt to do it, will be sure to find out that there is something seriously wrong; and they may have to pass through many calamities, before they attain to a knowledge of the truth.

Our nation is now suffering under very serious afflictions. And at such a time as this, it would certainly be proper in the people to earnestly inquire, why it is that we are in this sad condition. When a people, in the

midst of their calamities, remain stolid and indifferent, careless about their cause, it indicates a reckless and abandoned condition of society; and that their calamities are not likely soon to cease, nor they themselves to be much improved by what is passing over them. It would, indeed, be indicative of a people not worthy of continuance as a nation, but destined speedily to become extinct. Better things we hope, however, are in store for our nation. We may fondly hope, that our end is not approaching; that we are not to perish quite so abruptly. We do not suppose that the mission, for which the great Ruler raised up the nation, has yet been accomplished. He raised it up for some great and good purpose, and that purpose has not yet been fully attained. We doubt not the design was, that this land should be a land of liberty, an asylum for the oppressed, a home for the downtrodden of other lands. And such in some respects it has hitherto been; and such in every respect, it has yet to become, by the purpose and providence of God. We look forward to the time when, as a nation, we shall be exalted by righteousness, and be that "happy people, whose God is the Lord." For this end we hope he is now dealing with us, to make us such as he will approve and bless, and perpetuate for good.

That the Almighty Ruler of nations hath a controversy with us, there are but few, we presume, who will venture to deny. These great and sore calamities, which have befallen the nation, are not the result of chance: they are brought upon the land by the overruling providence of God. We are assured by unerring authority, that even a "sparrow cannot fall to the ground without" his direction; and much less can a nation be convulsed,



as is ours, without his immediate control. We are assured, too, that there is no evil with which men are visited, but is sent of God. Amos iii. 6: "Shall there be evil in a city, and the Lord hath not done it?" Whatever evil befalls a city or nation, the Lord sends it upon that city or nation. The import of the whole Word of God plainly is, that the Lord is the disposer of all the affairs of both individuals and nations; and that the calamities which befall either, are his visitations on account of their sins—either for their punishment merely, or else for both punishment and reformation. The same infallible authority teaches also, that the Lord never sends calamities upon nations, *when they are innocent*. To suppose him doing so, would be utterly derogatory to his righteous character. "Will not the Judge of all the earth do right?" So saith the Bible. And for him to punish a nation, not for *its sins*, but while it is innocent, just for *its improvement*, would be far from right. There must be guilt, either by transgression or imputation, else the infliction of punishment would be utterly unjust—incompatible with all sense of right.

The doctrine has been advanced that the Lord is chastising us, not for our iniquity, but merely for our improvement, so as to fit us for a more exalted and useful position among the nations. Those who do not see our national sins, and yet believe in the overruling providence of God, are necessarily forced into some such unscriptural position. Admitting that afflictions from God are upon us, and not being able to see our ill-desert, it must be assumed that he afflicts us merely for our good, and not at all in the way of punishment. And men, by refusing to see our national sins, may at length become quite

unable to see them. A man, who persists for a long time in keeping his eyes closed and refuses to see, may at length have his sight so impaired that he *cannot* see. And a man, who habitually, for a long time, closes his eyes to the sins of the nation, may become so blind to them, that he cannot discern them at all. And then, when national judgments come, he cannot, of course, understand the cause, and is ready to invent some theory, even though it should be inconsistent with the Word of God. But taking that Word for our all-sufficient and infallible guide, we cannot hesitate to believe, that the Lord never sends calamities upon innocent nations—never afflicts but when they are guilty; though he may design not merely punishment, but improvement also. And in our present national calamities, we apprehend that both punishment and improvement are his design—to bring us to a knowledge of our sins, so as to confess and forsake them, and thus turn to him, that He may turn to us, with deliverance and abiding favor.

To be made sensible of our sins is what we, as a nation, especially require, in order to realize that the hand of the Lord is stretched forth against us in these calamities. Indeed, these themselves might be sufficient to force conviction upon every mind, that we have sinned against Heaven, and in an aggravated manner, else, in the providence of God, we should not be visited with such terrible judgments.

By the pen of inspiration we have upon record, “for our learning,” the Lord’s dealings with a single nation. And the whole history of that Israelitish nation proves most clearly, that national calamities are the punishment of national sins; and, also, that national repentance and

reformation are sure to be met by the returning favor of the Lord, granting deliverance and peace. And from Israel's history, the great practical lesson to be impressed upon all nations, in their calamities, is embodied in the words—"Come, and let us return unto the Lord; for he hath torn, and he will heal us; he hath smitten, and he will bind us up."—Hos. vi. 1. Whenever we, as a people, are brought to use this language in sincerity, it will then be well with us; it expresses so fully that state of feeling which is appropriate to a suffering nation. There is the acknowledgment that the Lord has been forgotten, and hence his claims and counsels disregarded; and that their calamities are the inflictions of his hand: and also a purpose to return to Him, with a recognition of his merciful character—that he will pardon and bless all who repent and obey. But evidently it is impossible for us to be brought to a sincere use of this language, unless we are led to understand our national sins. And our wish is to aid in the acquisition of this indispensable knowledge.

While attempting to set forth the cause of the Lord's displeasure against us, it is the intention to speak of, not *individual*, but *national* sins—the sins of the people, *in their national capacity*. There are individual acts, and there are national acts; there are individual sins, and there are national sins. And both individual and national sins may go to make up the guilt of a nation. Nor need it be doubted that both have contributed to make up the guilt of our own. National sins are those committed by the people, in the transacting of national business; such as adopting constitutions—voting for officers of government, whether high or low—enacting laws—interpreting and executing laws. All such acts are national, because

performed in the transaction of national affairs. And all sins committed in these and such relations, are national sins. Nor can we doubt that many and great sins have been committed in all departments, in the management of our national affairs; even from the laying the foundation of our national system, and during the direction and management of it ever since. We have sinned in the adoption of our Constitution—we sin in appointing our rulers—in the enactment of our laws—in our judicial decisions—and also in the executing of our laws. But the primary and radical sin is, no doubt, found in our Constitution; and lays a foundation for the easy and ready commission of all the others.

It will be the part of wisdom, then, honestly, conscientiously, and in the light of divine truth, to examine into the nature of this Constitutional and radical sin, which doubtless entails upon us many others, and leaves us so much exposed to the Divine displeasure. And if we are willing to submit to a Scriptural examination, it will probably appear that our great Constitutional and radical sin consists in a kind of *practical, national atheism*. Not avowed atheism, but latent, practical atheism—*refusing to acknowledge God, and his sovereign authority over us as a nation*.

If we are a Christian people, how can we object to being tried by the Word of God? Our leading statesmen and orators everywhere assume that the nation is Christian; and if such, how can we refuse to take Christ's law for our standard and test of character. A people who believe in the Word of God, cannot consistently refuse to be tried by that Word. And if we seek to have the nation such as it ought to be, then must we



have it moulded by the Divine WILL, and if moulded by His will it must be through the application of His Word. If we, as a nation, despise the Word of the Lord, how can we ever expect to be prosperous and secure? "The Lord hath magnified his Word above all his name." He has honored it above all else, whereby he makes himself known, and we ought to honor it too. As a nation, we ought to honor the heaven-given Book of God, and feel that *we are honored* by having the privilege. But we have neglected it: we have slighted it: we have disregarded its counsels, and set it at naught. This is one of our national sins, and is recoiling upon our own heads. See where we are now! What wasting floods of evil have flown over our formerly God-favored land! and all through the rejection of his Word, "which is perfect, and makes wise the simple." This is our fatal Pandora's box, from which have issued the countless miseries now afflicting us as a nation. The leaven of *divine truth* would have saved us. It will cause any nation to grow great, stable, and enduring. It is the genuine balm to heal the wounds of our torn and bleeding land. Why should we hesitate to have recourse at once to its application. It is the true and only remedy; and will save the nation from the deadly maladies still wasting its vitality. Let us, then, build upon this true foundation; having our Constitution and the Bible blended together, as the immovable basis of our national fabric. The edifice will then be firm and abiding—the Bible being imperishable, so also will be our Constitution—assaults upon either will be assaults upon both; and both will have the same Almighty defence and shield.

But in order to the blending together of the Bible and



our Constitution, the latter must be made to harmonize with the former ; and this can be done only by the adoption of certain amendments, for which provision has been made in the instrument itself. What they are, we learn only from the Word of God, as this is the standard by which the deficiencies of our Constitution are to be ascertained. According to human authority, our Constitution might be considered almost faultless, as it is doubtless the best ever framed by merely human wisdom. But the question is not what it ought to be in the estimation of men, but what it ought to be in the sight of God. We are not now treating of our responsibility, as a nation, to men or other nations, but of our responsibility to God himself; and hence, the standard by which we must be tried is his Word, and not the views and expositions of politicians and statesmen, however distinguished they may be. The elaborate disquisitions, settled principles and dogmas of learned and profound statesmen, are of no weight, when brought into competition with the wisdom and requirements of the Almighty. As we are not discussing our duty to men or nations, but our duty to God, so from God we must learn what that duty is—measure ourselves by the standard of his Word. And it is a standard of supreme and divine excellence. Had our nation been framed and fabricated in all its parts, in accordance with the pattern there exhibited, happy would it be for us this day. Instead of being under the dark cloud—under the anger and displeasure of a righteous God, we should be sitting in the sunlight of his favor, sweet peace and prosperity smiling around every habitation. For “when a man’s ways please the Lord, he maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him.” And so with

a nation. When its ways please the Lord, he makes it to sit in peace and safety, "under the shadow of the Almighty," free from alarms within, and the assaults of enemies from without.—"Blessed is that people whose God is the Lord."

But, alas! we are not that people; and with shame we ought to confess it, that in the framing of our Constitution, we have refused to take the Lord to be our God; and have framed it without any reference, either to his existence, his authority over us, or to his law. It has been framed, in short, just as though there were no God. "The fool hath said in his heart, No God." The import of the workings of his heart is, "No God." The language or voice, sent forth by these workings, says, "No God." And such is the import of our Constitution. "No God," is the meaning of its voice—the signification of it, from the beginning to the end. *There is no God recognised in it, for the nation to look to for help, to honor, to trust, or to obey!* And, my dear fellow-citizens, may I not appeal to your sense of propriety—is it desirable for us to have a nation, *that has no God?*

The great and radical defect in our Constitution is, that the sovereignty of God over the nations of the earth is not acknowledged. The government of God over our nation, is not recognised nor admitted in any way. The entire instrument is drawn up in such a manner as to imply, *that in conducting the affairs of the nation, the government of God is to be left entirely out of the account.* And God is thus dethroned, so far as this disowning of his authority can do it. And all our State Constitutions are defective in the same way: none of them acknowledges the government of God, as it really exists, as he main-

tains it over the nations. This, then, is the great primary and radical sin of the nation. God's government, as it actually exists by his own appointment, is disowned and set at naught by our Constitution, by all our Constitutions, and generally in the management of our national affairs. Some may imagine that this can scarcely be possible; but let us calmly examine and see.

The Bible teaches very fully, that God hath established a government over the *nations*; not merely over the individuals who compose the nations, but over *the nations, as such*. And the Bible as clearly teaches the nature of that government. It is a delegated government—the government of the Son of God, in his mediatorial capacity—the man Christ Jesus ruling over the nations, for the good of man, and the glory of God.

The divine arrangement for the government of the nations is clearly, fully, and forcibly set forth in the second Psalm. It commences with a description of the organized opposition of the nations to the “Lord and his anointed”—God and his Son, the Messiah, the consecrated, Supreme Ruler over all: “Why do the heathen rage?” Though the heathen are mentioned, yet the reference is not merely to the opposition of heathen civil rulers; for the rulers of the Jews themselves are also comprehended, as we are told in Acts iv. 27. Nor is the language to be restricted to the events connected immediately with the condemnation and crucifixion of the Redeemer. Those events were only a continuation of what is implied in the language; and until this very day, there is still a continuance of the same. The language of the Psalm had a significance and application, before Christ came, and when he came, and still has its applica-

tion until this present time. It is descriptive of the opposition made to the "Lord and his anointed," as these were represented and shadowed forth by the theocracy established in the nation of Israel. And so the prophecy still has its fulfilment, in the opposition of the nations, refusing to acknowledge and submit to Christ's claims and authority; and in various ways preventing the establishment of his reign of righteousness in the earth.

"The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together against the Lord, and against his anointed; *saying*, Let us break their bands asunder, and cast away their cords from us." The rulers of all nominally Christian nations have been, and still are, pursuing this guilty course. Because, in framing Constitutions, enacting laws, in the execution of laws, and in the whole management of governmental affairs, they refuse to be controlled and regulated by the authority of God and his Christ. They "cast away their cords, and break their bands asunder," by refusing to recognise and submit to the requirements of the *divine law*, and the rightful authority of King Jesus, "the Prince of the kings of the earth."

And having described the organized opposition of the nations, to God and his Christ, the Psalm proceeds to set forth the arrangement which the Lord hath made with his Son, for their government. He says, "Yet," or notwithstanding this opposition, "have I set my King upon my holy hill of Zion." And he gives to him "the heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession;" and also to "rule them with a rod of iron," and to "break them in pieces like a potter's vessel."



Thus there is set before us the divine appointment of the Lord's anointed, the Messiah, the Son of God, in his mediatorial capacity, to be the sovereign Ruler of the nations. And the various Scriptures which teach the same doctrine, are numerous and explicit. Some of them are the following, Ps. lxxxix. 27: "I will make him first-born," that is, preëminent, above all others in authority, as explained in the next clause, "higher than the kings of the earth," being invested with power and authority to reign over them. Ps. cx. 1: "The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool." He sits at the right-hand of the Father, the place of supreme honor and authority over all—He alone being excepted, who hath placed him there. And there, we are told, "he shall strike through kings in the day of his wrath;" and "judge among the heathen;" and "fill *places* with the dead bodies;"—see the fulfilment in our own bleeding land!—and "wound the heads" or chief ones "over many countries." And in Ps. lxxii. it is foretold of him, that "He shall have dominion also from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth." The import of which is, that his authority is universal, over the whole earth. It is there said also, "Yea, all kings shall fall down before him: all nations shall serve him." Not merely people, but "kings" and "nations;" so that civil rulers and governments ought to acknowledge his sovereignty over them.

And what is foretold in the Old Testament is declared in the New to have passed into actual fulfilment. For instance, in Eph., first chapter, it is said that God raised Christ from the dead, and "set him at his own right hand in the heavenly *places*; far above all principality



and power, and might and dominion, and every name that is named; not only in this world, but also in that which is to come: And hath put all under his feet, and hath given him to be head over all to his body the church." Here, then, it is explicitly declared, that the man Christ Jesus, after his crucifixion and resurrection, was exalted to the throne of supreme dominion, and sways a sceptre of universal empire over the wide creation of God. He sits upon the holy hill of Zion, in the heavenly Jerusalem, exercising his delegated authority over all rulers and nations of the earth. And the same doctrine is clearly taught in Phil. ii.: "Wherefore God also hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name: That at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of those in heaven, and on earth, and under the earth: and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father." "Jesus Christ is Lord," that is, supreme and universal governor; and the exercise of this delegated authority is to the glory of God the Father. This supreme authority of Christ is set forth again in Col. ii. 10, where he is declared to be "the head of all principality and power." And in 1 Pet. iii. 22, the same is emphatically expressed; for it is said of Christ that "He is gone into heaven, and is on the right hand of God; angels, and authorities, and powers being made subject unto him." And so also, in Rev. i. 5, he is declared to be "the Prince of the kings of the earth." So that all earthly rulers are the subjects of his universal dominion.

Thus we see that the prophecy contained in the Psalm has its fulfilment in the exaltation of the man Christ Jesus to the right hand of God; where he sits as king

upon the holy hill of Zion, in the heavenly Jerusalem. There is reference, no doubt, to the earthly mount Zion, the seat and centre of the theocracy established over Israel, and administered by the house of David. His descendants were to occupy that throne; but the succession terminated in the Son of David, the Messiah, "the Lord's anointed," with preëminence. And when he came to the throne the seat of dominion was transferred from the earthly to the heavenly mount Zion. The nationality of God's people then ceased, and their government was no longer to be circumscribed by the boundaries of a single nation. Their Prince was to rule over all nations; but with a "kingdom not of this world"—not with an earthly, but a heavenly reign; and hence, the seat of his empire must be, not the earthly, but the heavenly mount Zion. It is the same throne as that occupied by king David; but when it comes to be occupied by "Messiah the Prince," the "Governor among the nations," the seat of empire must be transferred to heaven: the only suitable place for the throne of Him, whose "kingdom ruleth over all." It is there, upon the holy hill of Zion, that the Lord hath set his King; where he is to sit and reign till he hath put all enemies under his feet, that is, till the end of time; the last enemy, which is death, being destroyed, by the resurrection of all the dead. When he shall deliver up the kingdom to God, even the Father, and cease to reign, laying aside the crown and the sceptre, and becoming subject to the Father; "that God may be all in all." 1 Cor. xv. 26, 28.

There is no room for doubt, then, as to the nature of that government which God hath established over the nations. It is a delegated, mediatorial government, com-

mitted to the hands of the man Christ Jesus, the Divine Son of God, exercising the regal functions which pertain to him as the "Lord's anointed." And this God-appointed, mediatorial government, all nations ought to acknowledge and obey. The nation that does not acknowledge the mediatorial government of Christ, does not acknowledge the government of God; because *this* is God's government over the nations; and when *this* is ignored, God's government is ignored. But the rightful authority of Christ over the nations is not acknowledged in our Constitution; nor in a single Constitution of any of our States.

Perhaps it may be assumed, that it is not incumbent upon nations, in their national capacity, to make any such acknowledgment. But in relation to this the Word of God is very explicit. After the divine arrangement for the government of the nations is set forth in the Psalm, then comes the injunction, for all civil rulers to recognize it; and to act in accordance therewith; that is, as civil rulers to have regard to the Lord's authority; and to engage in the discharge of all their official duties, under a sense of their responsibility to Him. Here is the injunction—"Be wise now, therefore, O ye kings; be instructed, ye judges of the earth. Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with trembling." The appellations—"kings," "judges of the earth"—comprehend all classes and grades of civil rulers, from the highest to the lowest, and under every form of civil government. And not as private persons, but as *rulers*, and *in ruling*, it is enjoined upon them to serve the Lord—to serve him in the administration of civil government, which he has ordained for the good of men. And "with fear," it is enjoined upon

them to serve the Lord; fearing lest they should displease him, by administering his ordinance in an improper manner, while discharging the duties of their office. They are to discharge these duties under a sense of responsibility to the Lord; remembering that at last they shall answer to him for the fidelity maintained, in filling the position to which they have been called. It is enjoined upon them, too, to "rejoice with trembling." They will, and may rejoice, in the honor and emoluments pertaining to the positions of authority, which in the providence of God they are called to fill; but while they do thus rejoice, they should not forget the danger there is of incurring the Divine displeasure, by any abuse or misuse of the important trust committed to their hands. They should "tremble" in view of their final reckoning with God. Hence, then, it is evident that, as rulers, they are to acknowledge the Lord's authority over them, and to make it an object to please him in the performance of all their duties.

And that there may be no possibility of overlooking the claims of "Messiah the Prince," as the rightful sovereign of all rulers, they are enjoined to "kiss the Son," that is, to render to him homage and submission—to acknowledge his authority over them—to do him reverence; and in the discharge of all their duties, to have respect to his claims and prerogatives, and the requirements of his law. And when civil rulers are required to do this, in their official capacity, it is evident that these duties are incumbent upon nations. Rulers are the representatives of nations, and the duties of the former are the duties of the latter. And it ought to be carefully observed, that the obedience to be rendered to the "Lord



and his anointed," is not required of persons in their private capacity, *but only of rulers*: teaching in the most unmistakable manner, that this obedience is demanded of nations, in their national capacity.

But, my fellow-citizens, is it not undeniably true, that our nation has utterly refused to acknowledge the obligation, or to render any measure of this obedience? On the contrary, by the course pursued, we have said, "Let us break their bands asunder, and cast away their cords from us." We have disowned the restraints of the divine law, and ignored the claims and authority of God and his Christ. And for this high-handed rebellion, hath not "the Lord had us in derision?"—hath he not "spoken unto us in his wrath?"—and "vexed us in his sore displeasure?" We have been wonderfully vexed, indeed; baffled, foiled, and disappointed in our efforts to suppress the rebellion, and restore peace to the nation.

If we are a Christian people, we ought surely to see the need of reformation in this matter. As a nation, we owe a duty to the Lord Jesus, which ought not to be neglected, but promptly and faithfully discharged. It will be for the nation's lasting honor and advantage. By divine appointment, *Christ is the Ruler of our nation*, and how can we claim to be *Christian*, if we in no way acknowledge him? Is it not remarkable, that his claims *upon the nation* have been so entirely overlooked, by the people of the land? that there should be so few to "stand up for Jesus?" Where are all his commissioned ambassadors? Have they not a word to say in behalf of his just claims to the nation's homage? How is it, that while they are zealous in urging his claims upon *individuals*, as a *Saviour*, they neglect to urge his no less just and



undoubted claims upon *nations*, as a *Sovereign*? Perhaps it is that the salvation of the former is involved; but so also is the salvation of the latter. For “the nation and kingdom that will not serve him shall perish; yea, *those* nations shall be utterly wasted.” It is true, indeed, that the eternal salvation of individuals is vastly more important than the salvation of nations; but this will not justify silence on the part of Christ’s ambassadors as to his claims over the latter. And if *they* are silent as to the rights and prerogatives of their Divine King and Lord, “the Prince of the kings of the earth,” who else can be expected to speak out? or how can the nation be supposed to understand its duty in this vital matter? It is a vital matter. The Jews said, “We will not have this man to reign over us;” and see the terrible desolation with which He swept their nation into utter ruin! We ought to take the alarm, lest such may be our doom.

Are we Christians? And would not *Christians* desire to see Christ, their Lord and Redeemer, honored and exalted by the nation? Would they not wish, that “the glory due unto his name,” his rights and prerogatives, should be given unto him *in the state*, as well as in the church? Would they not rejoice, if their beloved nation were to “bring forth the royal diadem, and crown him Lord of all?” Would it be repugnant to their Christian feelings, or to our republicanism, for us all to say—We have no king but Christ, “the King of righteousness;” that we acknowledge the authority of no prince, but “Messiah the Prince,” “the Prince of peace;” that our sovereign is, “the Prince of the kings of the earth;” and to say, “The Lord is our Judge, the Lord is our Lawgiver, the Lord is our King; he will save us?” We are

Republicans, and we want no king, but "the King of kings and Lord of lords" to reign over us. And as a nation we ought to proclaim it, and exult in the fact, that we are subject to Him, whose "kingdom ruleth over all." When we formally take the Lord to be our King, then will our government be like to that given of God himself to his people of old; when he was their Sovereign, and human rulers only officers under him, governing in his name, for his glory, and the true happiness of the nation. Then, indeed, would our national glory be truly great—glorious in the eyes of the nations; for the Lord would be our glory and defence. Of us it would then be said, "Happy art thou, O nation! Who is like unto thee, O people! saved by the Lord, the shield of thy help, and the sword of thy excellency! And thine enemies shall be found liars unto thee; and thou shalt tread upon their high places."

And as we have not admitted God nor his claims into our Constitution, so we transgress in another respect; that is, in ignoring his teachings as to the true nature of civil government. We hold it to be nothing but a human institution—the ordinance of man—while his Word declares it to be the ordinance of God, and worthy of reverence as such. Our current doctrine on this point is embodied in the common maxim, so frequently uttered, and so generally received, that in civil government, "the people are the fountain of power;" that all authority is from the people themselves; that there is no power but of the people. And in accordance with this, in our national halls of legislation, the idea has been sneered and scoffed at, that there is any "higher law" than the enactments of Congress. For, as all authority to rule is

from the people, then the enactments of the people's representatives must be paramount and final. But on this subject we are quite aside from the true foundation. Our prevailing doctrine, however, that "the people are the fountain of power," no doubt had its origin among us, in opposition to "the divine right of kings," the darling dogma of the old world's despots. But while we repudiate their dogma, in their sense of it, we should not fly to the opposite extreme, and deny that God is the fountain of all legitimate governing authority.

In Romans xiii. it is expressly declared, that "There is no power but of God. The powers that be are ordained of God." By "the powers that be," existing, established civil governments are meant. Neither the usurped power of pretenders, nor the power of organized rebellion against an established government, is implied in the phrase, "powers that be." It is not the power of any man, or any number of men, who may rise up against a government, and assume the right to oppose it, that is "ordained of God." Such a power as that is only the power of sedition, rebellion, treason; and this is not an ordinance of God, established for the good of men. God, for good, wise, and righteous ends, may in his providence permit a rebellion to succeed; so that the issue shall be the establishment of a new and independent government. And then this new government will be the ordinance of God, and as such ought to be conscientiously obeyed. But the power of the preceding rebellion is not his ordinance, and has no divine warrant to exact obedience—no man is bound to obey it "for conscience' sake." It is evident that, though "the powers that be, are ordained of God," yet every existing power cannot claim the

sanction of his ordination. A people in rebellion may adopt a government for themselves, and regulate their affairs by it; but they have not yet an *established* government. All they do amounts to no more than an *attempt* to establish one: hence, what they call their government, has no place among "the powers that be," and "are ordained of God." It is evident, then, that resistance to their authority is not resistance to the ordinance of God; nor can they claim obedience on the same ground, as that of an established civil government. Rebels, in the exercise of their usurped authority, will claim obedience, and those in their power "must needs be subject" to them; yet "only for wrath," but *not* "for conscience' sake," as they have no authority from God to make any such claim. A rebellion or revolution is purely *an ordinance of man*; but God in his providence may permit it, and overrule it for good.

Civil government is the ordinance of God, because he hath appointed it for the benefit of men. And civil rulers, we are told, are "God's ministers attending upon this very thing;" that is, dispensing God's ordinance among the people. From the highest to the lowest, in all departments, from the President to the constable, each one is the "minister of God," and accountable to him for the manner in which his ordinance is administered; and each one will have to answer to God, for the fidelity with which the duties of his office have been discharged. Men in power may be so ignorant of the true nature of civil government, and of their own official character, as not to know that they are the "ministers of God;" but they are none the less so, on that account. Men may administer the ordinance of God in a very unworthy manner; they



may prostitute and abuse it, and in the office they fill, commit all manner of wickedness; but they are still "the ministers of God;" and it is still his ordinance, which they are abusing and prostituting to their base and wicked ends: and hence their danger of having a terrible reckoning to render at last, to God, for *their unfaithfulness*, while filling an office under him.

A civil government may be very defective, far from what it ought to be; but it is none the less the ordinance of God on that account. The government of Israel was the ordinance of God when administered by Ahab and Jezebel, though it was idolatrous, tyrannical, and wicked. And so the Roman government was the ordinance of God, when administered by the cruel monster Nero. And on the ground of its being such, did the Apostle enjoin obedience to it, on the part of the Christians to whom he wrote. The defects of a civil government, constitutional, legislative, judicial or executive, do not deprive it of its character, as God's ordinance; this it is still, though it may be marred by blemishes both numerous and great. Were we to assume that the defects of a government would deprive it of its character, as God's ordinance, it would be difficult to decide when any government is such. Because the questions would arise, what are the defects which deprive a government of its divinely appointed character? and what degree of perfection must it have in order to be his ordinance? And these are questions which never could be settled; inasmuch as there is no basis anywhere upon which to settle them. The Word of God affords no such basis; and it would be vain to look for it anywhere else. It is the Bible which informs us that civil government is the ordinance of God, and it



prescribes no measure of goodness or perfection as essential to the sustaining of that character. In speaking of civil government it says, "The powers that be are ordained of God," and, therefore, they are to be obeyed, "not only for wrath, but also for conscience' sake."

And as civil government is the ordinance of God, and all officers of government are his ministers, and responsible to him for the faithful discharge of their respective duties; so all who enjoy the advantages of this ordinance, ought to respect and honor it as such; giving to it that support and encouragement which an ordinance of God may claim as its due. None ought to disown or despise it, because it does not please them, in the form in which it has been established, or the manner in which it is conducted. The defects may be great and numerous, but it is the ordinance of God, notwithstanding, and ought to be honored and obeyed as such. And good men, by taking active part in the administration of it, may do much to have its defects removed—all that is wrong in it righted, and all that is wanting supplied; so as to realize in its administration what the ordinance implies—the best interests of the nation, and the glory of God.

Yet though civil government is the ordinance of God, it does not follow, that civil rulers are to be actively obeyed in all that they enjoin; because they are fallible, and may enjoin what is in conflict with the laws of God; and then they are to be disobeyed, in order to render obedience to Him. Though they are God's ministers, they have no authority from him to require the violation of his law. When they do so, it is the authority of man coming in conflict with the authority of God; and then, it is evident that God ought to be obeyed rather than

men.—Acts v. 29. But while on this ground civil rulers may be disobeyed, it is not implied that they may be resisted by force. *Passive* obedience ought to be rendered; that is, *suffer the penalty* of disobedience to them, rather than sin against God.

But though civil government is the ordinance of God, it is in some respects the ordinance of man. And the Scriptures recognize this. 1 Pet. ii. 13. "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake: whether it be to the king as supreme, or unto governors," &c. It is especially an ordinance of man in this, that the people are the sole fountain of power, as to what *form* of government they shall establish. God is the source of authority as to the *existence* of civil government, but man the source of authority as to its *form*; because God has not ordained any *form*. Men may establish a pure Democracy, or a Republic, or a Monarchy, or any other form, as may seem to them best. The people are the only legitimate fountain of power as to this: for in this there is no authority higher than themselves. It is an ordinance of man, too, because men administer it; and for men it has been ordained.

Now in this matter, with respect to the fountain of power in civil government, it is wrong for us as, a nation, to take from God his right and prerogative, by assuming to ourselves what he claims as his. Such conduct must be highly criminal in any people; and will not remain unpunished. It is robbing God of his glory, and giving it to others. May he not say to us as he said to Israel—"Will a man rob God? Yet ye have robbed me. Ye are cursed with a curse; for ye have robbed me; even this whole nation." But, my fellow-citizens, should we not

cease to rob God? Should we not fear the Lord—hearken to his voice—cease to do evil, learn to do well, and “give to him the glory due unto his name?”

And by recognizing civil government in its divinely appointed character, dignity and value, and acknowledging our authority to maintain it as coming from God, we shall gain other important advantages. The tendency will be to have the minds of all impressed with the value and importance of civil institutions; as having a measure of sacred and divine authority and responsibility connected with them. And in this way will be cherished in both the rulers and the ruled, a proper estimate of the relative duties to be discharged—as even in the presence of God, and to be accounted for to him in the end. Nor can there be any reasonable doubt, that an abiding feeling of this kind would contribute very much to the proper and faithful discharge of these relative duties. And thus our duty to God, as a nation, would redound exceedingly to our own good order, stability, and peace.

There is still another respect in which we are culpable as a nation. For as God is not in our Constitution, and as we disregard the teachings of his Word, as to the true nature of civil government, so also we transgress his law in the choosing of our rulers. His word is very explicit in describing the character of those who are to be chosen for rulers. For instance, in Exod. xviii. 21: “Moreover, thou shalt provide out of all the people able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness; and place such over them to be rulers.” O how different it would be with us this day, had we been careful to choose such men for our rulers in times past. If they had been able men, fearing God, men of truth, never, never would the nation



have been visited with the desolations of this terrible civil war. Bad men in power, men of falsehood and dishonesty, godless, unprincipled, perjured men, dragged the nation into the devouring whirlpool of civil discord, carnage, and death. It is the fruits of our own doings, in disregarding the requirements of God's law as to the moral character of our rulers. See, again, what that law says, in 2 Sam. xxiii. 2, 3: "The Spirit of the Lord spake by me, and his word *was* in my tongue. The God of Israel said, the Rock of Israel spake to me, He that ruleth over men *must be* just, ruling in the fear of God." Here is the voice of God's law—for all times—and all nations—and all people. And how careful the inspired writer is, to state the authority by which the law is promulgated. He says the *Spirit of the Lord* spake by him: and if possible, to make it more forcible, that the *God of Israel* said it. And, hence, men can have no way of evading the force of the injunction, or plea to offer in extenuation of their guilt, if they disregard its demands. The only plea for disobedience, that any people having the Bible could offer, would be that they were willingly ignorant of the law, or if not ignorant, that they did not like to obey it. For the law is so plain and pointed, that there can be no doubt about its meaning and application. It is God's authority, and binding upon every nation, to whom the Word of God comes. It is His law, as laid down in the Old Testament, with respect to what civil rulers ought to be; and the law in the New is not at all different. All that is said, concerning civil government in Rom. xiii., implies that rulers ought to be good men—"Rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil"—"He is the minister of God to thee for good"—"They

are God's ministers attending upon this very thing." Reason and common-sense teach, that if they are God's ministers, they ought to be good men, "just, and ruling in the fear of God." And in 1 Pet. ii. 14, the doctrine is the same, namely, that rulers "are sent for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well." And thus we have the will of God expressly revealed, in both the Old and New Testaments, as to what the moral character of civil rulers ought to be. If we, then, disregard the will of God, so fully and clearly made known, how can we, as a nation, expect to prosper? How can we expect to escape the anger and displeasure of the righteous Ruler of all, whose law we so defiantly trample under our feet?

And what, in all candor, has been our course in relation to this matter? Has it not undeniably been, to leave the law of God entirely out of the account, when proceeding to choose and appoint our rulers? When have we, on any occasion, in primary meeting, or political convention, referred to the requirements of the divine law, as to the moral character of the men to be chosen and appointed? Truth must answer, Never! All are aware, that the whole course has been to proceed in this matter just as though there had been no such law in existence. It must be confessed that we have chosen and set over us in authority, characters the very reverse of what the law of God requires—godless men, profane swearers, drunkards, debauchees, gamblers, Sabbath-breakers, haters of God, revilers of his law, and scoffers at his claims and his authority. There may have been happy exceptions, but the rule has been to select men, who have "no fear of God before their eyes."



The very places and practices associated with politics, are forcibly indicative of the men's character who are usually chosen to manage our state affairs. If bar-rooms and grogeries, lager beer, whiskey, and tobacco, were favorable to the production of good civil rulers, we might certainly boast of having such; for all these have no little to do with their choice and elevation. It is notorious, that in our large cities, the centres of influence, very little can be done in politics, outside the shadow of a *tavern*. If a man wishes to attend the primary meeting, where the nominations are made, he will probably have to visit the *tavern*. If he has to seek the assessor, that he may have his name placed on the tax-list, where can he find him and his books, but in the *tavern*? He must enter the nasty place, and have his olfactories assailed with the combined stench of rum and tobacco, and his ears greeted with the sounds of vulgarity and profaneness, while seeking to have his name enrolled. And if he desires to discharge his duty as a citizen, by casting his vote, he must go at least within smelling distance of the *tavern*, in order to have the privilege. And thus, apparently, the *tavern* is the all-controlling power in our politics—as if the inmates and the frequenters of the *tavern* had the whole matter committed to their control, and it were the prerogative of the *tavern-men* to manage the all-important affairs of the nation!

A sad condition of things, indeed, that this ordinance of God—civil government—should be so prostituted, and given over to the hands of the godless and profane, to be polluted and deformed with all that is degrading and vile, and by the associations of its management, dragged down to the portals of perdition! Why is it, that the

God-fearing people of the land have suffered this heaven-given ordinance to be dishonored and trampled under foot, without an effort to rescue and save it? May they not well apprehend severe chastisement, through the mismanagement of this very institution, which ought to have been jealously guarded by them, so as to be made fruitful in blessings to the nation? Why is it, that the patriotic, the virtuous, and the good, have allowed an institution of such magnitude and vital importance, for the nation's safety, to be so debased and perverted, by such corrupting and ruinous influences? But, then, is it not just what might have been expected?—the natural result of the whole course from the beginning—adopting a Constitution in which there is no God; erecting a government, assumed to be without any divine warrant or authority; and choosing our rulers in utter defiance of the express injunctions of the divine law? It is not now to be thought strange, if our politics have become a byeword and reproach; or that in us should be verified the declaration of Scripture: “When the wicked bear rule, the people mourn”—“They would none of my counsel; they despised all my reproof. Therefore, shall they eat of the fruit of their own way, and be filled with their own devices”—“Thus saith the Lord.”

But, have the truly Christian people of the land, no interest in this whole matter of civil government? In some respects, they show that they have; for they usually manifest a lively interest in *party* politics. But have they no zeal for the honor and purity of God's ordinance—civil government? Is it not both their duty and their interest, to have such zeal, and to show it? Their *party* zeal and diligence, they say, are to promote the good of

the nation. But have *they* to be told, that it is not the success of a *party*, which will bless a nation; unless it be a righteous party? Do *they* not know, that it is "righteousness which exalteth a nation;" and that nothing else will? Do *Christians* believe that they can benefit their country by voting for *party* men, while they and their men are both disregarding the counsels and claims of the Most High? Are they so much engaged in advancing the welfare of their country, as to lose sight of the necessity of having in office, "just men, ruling in the fear of God?" If so, their whole course is glaringly inconsistent, ruinous, and absurd.

It ought to be manifest to all, that a thorough and radical change is absolutely necessary in this whole matter. It is surely time that an effort were made for the purpose of securing upright and virtuous men, for every position, to conduct our state affairs. We ought to have the best of men for our rulers, because we have the selecting of them ourselves. Not like the citizens of other lands, who have their rulers not by choice, but by chance, as to the people, and must put up with them, be they good or bad. But if we have not good rulers, we have no such reason to assign. We make our rulers, and we ought to make them good. If we do not, we do not deserve to have such. And if we do not make good rulers, we show that we are neither *fit*, nor *worthy*, to have the privilege of making them at all. The complaint is often heard, that we have such bad men for rulers; and yet we ourselves have chosen these men, and placed them in power! When we put bad men in office, how can we expect to be ruled by good men? And when have we ever made it a point, to reject the bad, and choose the good? Never!

Now, my fellow-citizens, we ought to seek for reformation. We need a change. Wicked and unprincipled rulers are a great curse to any nation. And if we are careless about the *moral* character of our rulers, we shall certainly be cursed with that curse. Our only safety is, to obey the voice of divine wisdom, and change our political base to the heaven-given platform—"He that ruleth over men, must be just; ruling in the fear of God." Then, as a nation, we shall be secure; and undoubtedly so.

But, my fellow citizens, let me put the question, in all kindness and candor, Are we a Christian nation, or are we not? If we are, where is the evidence? Is it in any of our national documents? Is it in our Constitution, which lies at the foundation of the whole structure? Certainly not. The name of Christ, or any allusion to him, or his institutions, is not found in it from the beginning to the end. And do our national Acts contain the evidence that we are a Christian nation? Can any man point out where, in these Acts, it is to be found? We shall very much rejoice to know where. Was it when, to secure a treaty with an anti-Christian power, our government formally declared, that as a nation we were not Christian, for we had *no* religion? Did the course pursued toward the pagan ambassadors from Japan, evince that we were a Christian nation, when the tendency of the government's whole procedure was, to leave the impression on their minds, that we had no religion, no Sabbath, no sacred books, nor institutions; and were not a Christian nation at all?

Shall it be said, that we have Christians and Christian institutions in the land, therefore we are a Christian nation. And so we have Jews and Jewish institutions in



the land; and, therefore, we are a Jewish nation. And we have Mormons and Mormon institutions in the land; and, therefore, we are a Mormon nation. Shall it be said, that we have Christians for government officers, and hence we are a Christian nation. And so we have Jews, and Mormons, and Infidels, for officers of government; and, therefore, we are a Jewish, Mormon, and Infidel nation. It is evident, that such circumstances as these do not give us *nationality*; and do not make us any one of the above, as a nation. It is our Constitution and governmental Acts, which give us nationality; and if these have not the evidence of our being a Christian nation, it is nowhere. And, my fellow-citizens, is it not a reproach to us, that we can point to no decisive evidence of ours being a Christian nation?

And if not a Christian, so neither are we a Jewish, a Mormon, nor an Infidel nation. And what, then, are we? Are we a Pagan nation? No, not quite; only half such. Ours is only a semi-pagan nation. Paganism consists in disowning the true God, and putting idol gods in his place. We do only the first, not the second. Our disowning of God, and his Christ, and his Word and authority, in our Constitution and Government, is only the one side of paganism; and, hence, ours is only a semi-pagan government. It is of that reign of Gentilism, spoken of in prophecy, as antagonistic to Christ and his cause—holding on to the civil power throughout Christendom, trampling under foot sacred things, and prostituting even Christianity, to the basest of secular and selfish ends. But in the other semi-Christian nations, this has been much more the case than in ours.

This semi-paganism of the civil governments of Chris-

tendom, was revealed to both Daniel and John, as continuing for a considerable period. They both saw it as in conflict with Christ's kingdom, and as long hindering the reign of righteousness and peace in these nations. Daniel beheld it in the conflict between "the stone cut out without hands" and the golden-headed clay-iron-toed image, which received the shock of the stone upon its feet. The "stone" undoubtedly symbolized the kingdom of Christ, and not any earthly kingdom, or civil government; because it was cut out without hands;" which implies that it was not man-made, but made by Him whose "kingdom is not of this world;" and, hence, not any earthly civil government; but the cause of righteousness and peace—Christ's kingdom, which is eventually to destroy all pagan and semi-pagan civil governments over the whole earth. And the smitten image symbolized the pagan power, as concentrated and embodied in the Roman empire at the introduction of Christianity. The strength and the evil of the preceding empires, Babylonian, Medo-Persian, and Grecian, were absorbed by it; and all in one were shivered by the shock, and tottered to their fall. But a considerable time was to elapse, before the final extinction of the pagan element of these kingdoms, with which the stone came in conflict.

This was made known in Daniel's vision of the four beasts, which came up out of the sea. The fourth of these symbolized the Roman empire, which came into collision with the kingdom of the "one like unto the Son of man"—"Immanuel, God with us," the Messiah. And both kingdoms for a long time were to occupy the same territory, though antagonistic. The beast, with its instruments of power, the "ten horns" and the "little

horn," the ten kingdoms of Western Europe, and the Papacy, was to hold the civil power, even after the rise of the Papacy, for a period of 1260 years; for the saints were to "be given into his hand, until a time and times and the dividing of time." And thus paganism in the state was to have power over the saints during all this time: and at the end of it "the saints were to possess the kingdom;" that is, the power of civil government was to pass into their hands. It does not mean that the saints will anywhere set up a civil government, separate and distinct from other governments; but merely that they will, in every nation and kingdom, be the leading men in civil affairs; conducting the government in the fear of God, in accordance with his revealed will: ruling in righteousness, peace and love, for the glory of God and his Christ, and the true happiness of the nations. The same reign of righteousness, in state affairs, is set forth in Rev. xi. 15: "There were great voices in heaven saying, The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of the Lord, and of his Christ"—"the Lord and his anointed" of the second Psalm. "Kings" and "rulers" now cease to plot against them; not wishing any longer to "cast away their cords," nor to "break their bands asunder," as formerly. Not the people merely, but the *kingdoms*, as such, do this—"kissing the Son"—"serving the Lord with fear," and ruling in accordance with the requirements of his Word. It is evident that the great change in the kingdoms of Christendom, here spoken of, is a change in the moral character of their civil governments; for the "Lord and his Christ" reigned over them previous to this change; but the kingdoms did not recognize their claims, nor render obedience to them;

whereas now they do, and thus become the kingdoms of the Lord, and of his Christ, by a voluntary, national recognition of, and surrender to their authority.

The long continuance of semi-paganism, in the civil governments of Christendom, is foretold in Rev. xi. 2. The great Reformation in religion, which occurred in Christendom early in the sixteenth century, when the Bible became an open book for the use of the people, is set forth in the tenth chapter. In the progress of that vision the prophet himself is made a symbol—a representative of the ministers of Christ: and in what he was directed to do, is set forth the special work of the ministry from the time to which the prophecy has reference. He was to prophesy, or preach; to “measure the altar and the temple, and them that worship therein:” that is, to define the true doctrine of the atonement, and to describe the true people and church of God, in opposition to the degenerate system which prevailed previous to the Reformation. But the court without the temple he was forbidden to measure, for it had been given to the Gentiles; and the holy city they were to tread under foot forty and two months, or 1260 years.

The things mentioned here, pertaining to the Jewish dispensation, are all employed as symbols, having reference to the Christian church. The temple in Jerusalem was a type of Christ, or God incarnate. As the glory of God filled the temple, and the Divine presence abode there, so the fulness of the Godhead bodily dwelt in Christ. And accordingly he calls himself the temple, saying, “Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up.” And hence, the temple and its worshippers symbolize Christ and his people, who are in him by faith,



the true worshippers; "who worship the Father in spirit and in truth." The altar is the symbol of sacrifice, and represents the doctrine of atonement. "The court without the temple," pertaining to the Gentiles, was the intermediate place, between the idolatrous world and the worshippers of the true God—the place where those who were not his people, but professed a love for him and his cause, might draw near, and enjoy an outward connection with his people and his service; and, accordingly, it symbolizes the visible church under the gospel. Here, those who merely profess to be his people, may enter in, and take part in the services; and even direct, and rule, and have the control. And hence this court was not to be measured—the influence of Gentilism—until the end of the time predicted, would prevent it from being what it ought to be: pagan forms, irregularity, disorder, and want of uniformity would prevail, and hinder its perfection. The "holy city," Jerusalem, was the city of the Lord, and the capital of the nation of his people. There were the symbols of the Divine presence; and thither the tribes of the Lord went up to worship. And thus Jerusalem represented the whole nation, and became the emblem of the heritage of the Lord; that is, his people, as a whole. And, therefore, the "holy city" symbolizes the people of God, together with their sacred institutions, wherever they are found; and that is all over Christendom. Christendom, then, as the abode of God's people, and his sacred institutions, is the "holy city," which the Gentiles "tread under foot." And as they were to tread these under foot, it is evident they were to have the dominion, wherever these are found. They could not tread them under foot unless they had the power to do

it; and hence, in these lands, they must have the civil government in their hands. Gentilism was to rule in the state, throughout Christendom, forty and two months.

Paganism, in its nature, and semi-paganism, in its practice, was to fill the high places of civil authority; trampling under foot, destroying, and desecrating, holy people and sacred things. And, accordingly, the former have been persecuted, and the latter have been prostituted, to strengthen the civil power, and advance the interests of the state. Paganism in the state, desecrates and profanes religion, for merely civil and secular ends. This has always been the case, in the semi-pagan governments of European Christendom. In their secularizing use and abuse of religion and Christianity, they are far more guilty than our government has ever been. Ours has never persecuted the people of God; nor for the blood of the saints, has it to be called to account. Sacred things have not been prostituted to civil ends, as in the other nominally Christian nations.

Though our government desecrates the Lord's day in its postal arrangements, and otherwise; yet we have not employed religion for the aggrandizement of the state, as has been the common practice with the semi-Christian governments of Europe. They have all made use of religion for merely selfish, worldly, state purposes; but we have not. Paganism has always employed religion as a mere state engine, to fortify and strengthen the civil government; and the semi-pagan governments of Europe have always done the same. Wherever in Christendom there has been a union of church and state, this has always been the case. The *civil* has always used the *sacred*, for the purpose of gaining strength, glory, and stability to

itself; whether the church has been made preëminent, and the state subordinate; or the state preëminent, and the church subordinate—as exemplified in Italy and England. In the former, the recognized head of the church, assumes to be the head of the state; and in the latter, the recognized head of the state, assumes to be the head of the church. But the design of the union, in each, is the aggrandizement of the civil power, pertaining to them respectively: the prostitution of sacred things for civil purposes—the “holy city” trampled under foot by Gentilism; because it has the power in its hands, and uses all for secular ends. But our government, notwithstanding its defects, has never been guilty of prostituting the holy religion of Jesus, as an instrument of state policy. This results from the wise and scriptural arrangement of keeping the church and the state, as organizations, separate and distinct from each other. And this is quite an advance in the right direction. This not abusing of sacred things for civil ends, is casting away a portion of the semi-paganism, which is still retained by the governments of Europe.

It is evident, then, that we are still partakers of this semi-paganism, which maintains the ascendancy in the state, through all the nations of Christendom; and from which it would assuredly be both for our honor and advantage, to free ourselves entirely. As we have taken the lead of the other nations in discarding one important part of semi-paganism, let us go on unto perfection, and cast away from us the remains of this plague and reproach of the nation. All nations must be freed from it, either by voluntary reform, or by the overturning judgments of Him, “who sits King upon the holy hill of Zion,” and

will "break them with a rod of iron, like a potter's vessel." Let us, as a nation, bend and not break—bend to the Divine pleasure, and not be broken by his power. Let us reform more and more, not only refraining from the abuse of sacred things, but also by conceding to them that relation to the state which is their due. Would it not, my fellow-citizens, be both our glory and our gain, to keep, as a nation, in the advance of all other nations, God-ward and Christ-ward, and thus upward; rising in excellence, glory, strength and beauty; till we shall be the admiration of them all: and they, copying our example, and emulating our moral greatness and grandeur, set to their seal, that our free Republican institutions are right, and we worthy of our exalted place among the nations of the earth? But we never can appear in our full majesty and glory, until we acknowledge the sovereignty of the "Lord and his anointed" over us, and submit to their counsels and dictation, in the management of our national affairs. For "Thus saith the Lord"—"Them that honor me I will honor, and they that despise me shall be lightly esteemed." Well now, Americans, let us honor Him, and He will honor us; He will exalt us among the nations; and cause us to ride upon the high places of the earth. Our light shall be seen from afar, and hither shall they flock from the nations, both near and remote, to share in the blessings of that "happy people, whose God is the Lord."

But I am aware, my fellow-citizens, that you are afraid of a union of church and state; and justly so: for from it have issued many monstrous evils. But we may do our duty to God and his Christ, his Word and authority, without any union of church and state; and without a



national establishment of religion, or any of the evils which result therefrom. If we were to have our Constitution amended by a prefatory article, acknowledging the sovereignty of the Lord and his anointed over the nation, and the paramount authority of his law over all human laws, and our duty to submit to its requirements in the choice of our rulers, and in everything else, there would, in this, be no union of church and state, nor any national establishment of religion. Nor would there be any necessity for adopting religious tests, in order to the holding of office under the government.

Suppose such as Jews and infidels would be unwilling to subscribe to, and bind themselves by oath to support such a Constitution, in order to the holding of office, would this be any serious loss to a Christian people? If we are a *Christian* nation, is it indispensable to have such as Jews and infidels for our civil rulers? Is there any circumstance that requires it? But would not the rights of such citizens be interfered with, and withheld from them? Pray, where did they get their rights, to rule over a Christian nation, the proper Constitution of which they would be unwilling to support? Are the rights of a Christian nation not paramount to the rights of a few Jews and infidels, who may be dwelling in it? Is it not the right of a Christian people to acknowledge their Lord and Redeemer as their Sovereign Ruler? Is it not the absolute right of the "Lord and his anointed," to require this acknowledgment of all nations? and are the rights of Jews and infidels higher than the rights of God Almighty? No man, nor set of men, can possibly have any rights contravening the rights of the Lord God of Hosts. There can be no rights, which would require the

ignoring of what he enjoins. And as He enjoins it upon nations to acknowledge his sovereignty over them, none can have any rights which would prevent this. Those objecting to it, would be utterly unfit to rule over a *Christian* nation.

But while attempting, for the sake of reformation, to direct attention to some of our chief national sins, on account of which the anger of the Lord burns hot against us, it were great unfaithfulness to pass unnoticed, the sin of negro slavery. As we have now, in the providence of God, ample evidence, that this is especially the sin, for which his judgments are at present so heavy upon us. Rebellion is the rod with which the Lord is chastising the nation, and negro slavery is the cause of that rebellion. So that our sin is now punishing us. The nation supported and fostered the vile system, until it became a great monster, and rose up to devour the nation itself. And thus the nation's iniquity recoils upon itself. The nation's sin is the nation's plague; its crime, its canker; *its* destroyer of men, the destroyer of *its* men. We maintained slavery for the sake of gain; and now slavery is causing us to disgorge that ill-gotten gain, with terrible vengeance, and noted rapidity. The Righteous Disposer of all things is now, in his providence, scattering to the winds the wealth, which we made out of the bodies and the souls of men. And thus our punishment points so unmistakably to our sin, that it is only the wilfully blind who cannot see it. And the manner, too, in which the punishment is apportioned to the two sections of the land, points clearly to the sin for which it is sent. The whole nation suffers, North as well as South; and therefore, the whole nation must be guilty: but the South

especially suffers, and hence, the South must be especially guilty. Slavery is the sin of the nation, because the national government upheld it; but the greater measure of the iniquity lay in the South, and now in the Lord's national retribution, the larger cup of his vengeance is placed in their hands. The calamities of the Southern people are exceedingly great, and their guilt is doubtless in proportion: but slavery, with its concomitant evils, is assuredly the overwhelming sin of that people.

That slavery has been the cause of the civil war, and the resulting national calamities, is just as evident as that the earth is lighted by the sun. We might as well doubt that we have a war, as to doubt that slavery has been its cause. The rebels certainly know what it was, that led them to commence the war against the United States, and *they* affirm that it was slavery. Their Vice-President, Stephens, publicly declared, that their object in making war, to cast off the national government, was to establish a new government founded upon slavery—of which slavery was to be the “corner-stone.” And he only avowed the designs of his coadjutors, who commenced the war, and persist in continuing it ever since. Look at the following extract from the *Richmond Examiner* of May 30th, 1863, and see the corroboration of what we affirm:

“If the Confederacy is at a premium, she owes it to herself. And so much the better. We shall be all the more free to run the grand career which opens before us, and grasp our own lofty destiny. Would that all of us understood and laid to heart the true nature of that career, and that destiny, and the responsibility it imposes! *The establishment of the Confederacy is, verily, a distinct reaction against the whole course of the mistaken civilization*



of the age. And this is the true reason why we have been left without the sympathy of the nations, until we conquered that sympathy with the sharp edge of our sword. For '*Liberty, Equality, Fraternity,*' we have *deliberately substituted Slavery, Subordination, and Government.* Those social and political problems, which rack and torture modern society, we have undertaken to solve for ourselves, in our own way, and upon our own principles. That 'among equals equality is right;' among those who are naturally unequal, equality is chaos; *that there are slave races born to serve, master races born to govern.* Such are the fundamental principles which we inherit from the ancient world, which we lifted up in the face of a perverse generation, that has forgotten the wisdom of its fathers; by those principles we live, and in their defence we have shown ourselves ready to die. Reverently we feel, that our Confederacy is a God-sent missionary to the nations, with great truths to preach. We must speak them boldly, and whoso hath ears to hear, let him hear."

Such is the monstrous doctrine of the leading rebels on this subject; and in view of it, who can doubt the design of the slaveholders in making the war? It is as clear as sunshine, that they declare they made it for the sake of slavery: and if made for the sake of slavery, then, this was its cause. Those who deny this, make these men to be public liars. The rebels at the South openly declare that they made the war in behalf of slavery, and though their advocates at the North, deny that they did any such thing, yet, it is not difficult to decide where the truth lies. Those who made it, know the reason why, and when they say it was for slavery,



there is then no room to doubt. And thus our punishment points plainly to our sin; as our sin is made the avenging rod to afflict us. A righteous Providence compels us to understand, what that great special sin is, for which he has visited us with these heavy calamities.

The people of our land have had their eyes sadly blinded to the sin of slavery, by the fallacious reasoning of the Bible advocates of that system. They have reasoned thus: The Lord allowed the Israelites to purchase and hold slaves; and slavery existed also in the Christian church in the days of the Apostles, yet they did not condemn it; therefore, our system of slavery is no sin in the sight of God. The fallacy of their reasoning lies in this, that the conclusion is not contained in the premises. It would not follow, that our system of slavery is no sin, even though the Lord allowed slavery in both the Jewish and Christian churches. Nor even if he had, in a specific manner, authorized us as a nation to hold slaves, would it follow, that our system of slavery is no sin; because our system might be entirely different from what he could approve. And it is evident, too, that though the Lord authorizes certain things to be done in certain circumstances, it does not follow that these same things are right in all other circumstances. The Lord authorized the Israelites to make war upon the Canaanites, and on several other occasions; but it does not follow, that every war is therefore right. But such is the nature of their fallacious reasoning—because the Lord tolerated a kind of slavery in certain circumstances, they jump to the conclusion, that, therefore, *our* slavery is no sin!

These Bible advocates of slavery have thus deceived the people, by professing to examine our slavery in the

light of God's Word, while they have never done any such thing. They have contended for a mere abstraction—a thing called slavery—and have justified it; but our slave system they have not brought into the light of divine truth at all. And they have thus thrown dust in the eyes of the people, and deceived them exceedingly; leading them into a false position, respecting this matter, which is of such vital importance to the best interests of the nation.

It is evident that the question relating to slavery, *which concerns us* is, whether *our slavery* is a sin in the sight of God or not. As to whether the Lord has or has not allowed of slavery, is to us comparatively of no importance. He may have done so, and we may be spending our time in proving it, and that slavery, "*per se*," is not wrong; while our own horrible system of slavery may be eating out the very vitals of our nation—"treasuring up for us wrath against the day of wrath"—the day of God's righteous visitation upon the land.

If the Bible advocates of slavery had done their duty, they would have examined *our* system of slavery, in the light of the Word of God: they would have compared our slave laws, and our slave practices, with the requirements of that Word; endeavoring to know the truth, and set the people right in relation to the whole matter. But they have always avoided this. They have never tried to investigate and expose the great iniquities of *our slave system*; but, on the contrary, they have always endeavored to conceal them: thus blinding the eyes of the people, and deceiving them as to the true issue in the case. If they had honestly taken up our slave laws, explaining what they forbid and what they require, and

exposed the practices of our slavery—comparing all with the requirements of the pure Word of God—the inhumanity, barbarous cruelty, and filthy pollution of the system, would have been so glaring, that a universal outburst of indignation would have gone forth from the people, dooming the odious system to a sure and speedy end: for when our people know the truth and the right, they act accordingly. But, of course, the leaders will be followed, in both church and state. And thus the masses have been deluded, as to the true character of the monstrous system of oppression maintained in the land. But those who have deluded them have the greater sin, and have enhanced not a little our national guilt.

There is no small measure of guilt incurred by justifying slavery from the Bible, and at the same time, refusing to try *our slavery* by the Bible. The result of this course has been, not only to blind the eyes of the nation, as to the wickedness of the system, but also to justify the slaveholders, and lead them to believe they were right; and thus to encourage and embolden them, even to rise up in rebellion, for the purpose of fortifying and perpetuating this great evil. So that the present horrors and calamities abounding in the land, may be traced, in no small measure, to the fallacious manner of dealing with the subject, by the Bible advocates of our slavery. Had it not been for their influence, the people of the South, and partially of the North, never would have settled down in the belief, that our system of slavery is a “divine institution,” to be indefinitely perpetuated; nor by this belief would have brought down the wrath of Heaven upon the whole land. As long as the system was viewed as an evil, to be remedied, and a remedy sought



for, the Lord, in his forbearance, spared the nation; but when the system came to be advocated as good and right, and no change to be desired, then He interposed with his own avenging hand, to break up, and root out this great evil, in a most effectual manner. This He did by visiting slaveholders with judicial blindness, through which they might "stumble, and fall, and be snared, and be taken," by adopting a treasonable policy, which would bring heavy calamities on the whole nation, as a punishment for this sin, and also utterly consume, and bring to a total end, the cruel system, in the behalf of which, the treason was concocted. But if the people of the land had been taught correctly, by the proper application of the Word of God to the system, they would have seen the evil, and discovered a remedy also, instead of being led to provoke the Divine displeasure, to come with such vehemence against the nation.

Our slave system would not bear the slightest measure of investigation in the pure light of the Divine Word. A system, which dooms and degrades millions of human beings, to the condition of brutes, can have no countenance from the God of justice, love, and truth; nor any sanction from His holy Word. And that such is the nature of the system, both in its laws and in its practices, is just as true as that it exists.

The limits of these pages will not allow the citation of slave laws, nor the enumeration of slave practices, but the testimony is abundant, and can be produced at any time, to prove, that our slave system, dooms and degrades millions of human beings, to the same level as the brutes. For instance, the laws of the system forbid the slaves to learn to read, and as brutes cannot read, it makes the



slaves like them, in this respect, and puts them both in the same condition. Men and women, and sheep and hogs, must all be alike—incapable of reading the Word of God, or anything else! Our slave system, also, annuls the divine institution of marriage, among slaves. The laws of the system, do not recognize the relation of husband and wife among slaves at all, nor anything like the institution of marriage. And the system thus consigns men and women, to the condition of brutes, and compels them to herd together like the cattle of the field. But this is only in accordance with the spirit and operations of the whole system, which make them chattels and things, and not human beings.

And the practice of the slaveholders has been in harmony with their laws; because it is common, when their interests demand it, to “put asunder” men and women, who were living together as husband and wife, and were really such by the law of God; but their system justifies it, and they practise accordingly. Indeed, the very core and vitality of our slave system is, to view and treat the slaves as cattle, that is, *to make money out of them*. Cattle are well kept, fed and cared for, that they may be vigorous, multiply, and be profitable; and our slaves have generally been treated in the same manner, and from precisely the same motives.

And as cattle are made articles of trade and commerce, so are the slaves. In slave raising States, for instance Virginia, it has been common for men to go out over the country, and buy up men, women and children, just as sheep and hogs are bought up, and drive them in a drove into Richmond, to be sold to the highest bidder. And in these, and many other respects, does the system doom

and degrade millions of human beings to the very condition of the brute creation. And for men to appeal to the Bible, to justify such a system, is simply an outrage upon common-sense and decency; and a gross insult to that just and holy God, who is the author of the Bible. How preposterous! to appeal to the Bible, in justification of a system, the whole tendency of which is, to make brutes of the slaves, and barbarians of the slaveholders, as the history of events has now fully verified. And when the leading men in the nation, and chief guides in morality, filling the highest stations, have been pursuing this course, is it any marvel that the Lord is much incensed against us, and his visitations heavy upon the land?

Now, my fellow-citizens, is it not time to consider these things, and avoid being any longer deluded by sophistical reasonings? If we want to know the truth respecting our slave system, let us honestly seek to find out what it is, and measure it by the infallible standard of the Divine Word; so as to learn its enormous wickedness, and consign it to perdition, where it properly belongs. Surely, if we are a Christian people, we cannot bear to deal with any class of human beings, as our slave system deals with our slaves. Nor would it be amiss to inquire what our duty was, as Christians, to the Africans found in our midst, when we became a nation. By English cupidity and rapacity, the poor Africans were dragged here, and slavery planted in the land. But when we became an independent nation, we ought not to have set the seal of our approbation, to the evil course of England, by continuing the unrighteous system which she had introduced. And as we were proclaiming ourselves "the land of the free," it was especially inconsistent in us, to establish sla-

very as one of our institutions. We found the Africans among us, and they were *pagans*; what, then, was our duty, as Christians, toward these pagans? Was it our duty to make slaves of them? to oppress them? to whip, and buy, and sell, and to make money out of them, as though they had been so many brutes? Was this our duty, as a Christian people, to these pagans? Every one with any conscience knows the answer. How ought a Christian people to deal with a handful of pagans found in their midst, and in their power? Certainly, not in cruelty, but in kindness. And is it kindness to make slaves of them? to make brutes of them? to use them merely for the purpose of turning them into money? Ought we not to have dealt with them for their good, not for our own? Christian magnanimity, Christian mercy, and Christian justice, all say we ought. And was it the duty of a Christian people to add to the number of these pagans, with the view of making money? As there never was a single one of them, shipped from the shores of Africa for any other purpose. In every instance the motive was the greed of gain. Many of the poor Africans have been benefitted by it; for the Lord can bring good out of evil, and has done so in this case; but this does not render the authors of the evil one whit the less guilty.

These pagans, brought here, were "strangers" in a strange land, and they ought to have received the sympathy, protection, and help of a Christian people, with the view of making them *Christians*, not *slaves*. Is it the way in which Christians ought to treat pagan *strangers*, to make *slaves* of them? Very numerous are the injunctions to the Jewish nation, to deal kindly with the "stran-



gers" found among them. And these injunctions are applicable to us. For though we, as a nation, are gathered out of all lands, yet, as a white race, we are the people of the land; the Lord having given it to us as our inheritance; and the African is emphatically the "stranger in our midst." He ought, then, to be treated by us, with no less kindness, than was required of the Jews to the "stranger within their gates."

In the Bible, the "strangers," the "fatherless," and the "widows," are classed together as objects of the Lord's special regard; whose cause he will vindicate; and who are to be treated with much tenderness and compassion. We have our "strangers," and of them there are great multitudes of "fatherless" and "widows;" for our slave system has made them. Multitudes of wives have been torn from their husbands, and sold into cruel and helpless bondage. Multitudes of children have been torn from their parents, and doomed to serve under the lash of hard-hearted and pitiless taskmasters. But these "widows" and "fatherless" of the African "stranger," have a double claim. Nor are they forgotten of the Lord. He hears their cry. Exod. xxii. 21—24: "Thou shalt neither vex a stranger, nor oppress him: . . . Ye shall not afflict any widow, or fatherless child. If thou afflict them in any wise, and they cry at all unto me, I will surely hear their cry. And my wrath shall wax hot, and I will kill you with the sword; and your wives shall be widows, and your children fatherless." A great cry, prolonged for many weary years, has gone up to heaven from the South land. And though these "fatherless" and "widows," are dark colored, debased by oppression, and despised, yet the Lord has heard their cry. And all over



the nation, we behold a terrible verification of this portion of God's holy Word. It is enough to make any thoughtful person tremble and be afraid; and to teach all, that it is a fearful thing for a nation to disregard the counsels of the Most High.

How touchingly the Bible describes the sad condition of these "strangers," "fatherless," and "widows!"—"Behold the tears of such as were oppressed, and they had no comforter: and on the side of their oppressor there was power; but they had no comforter." Eccl. iv. 1. And forcibly, too, it describes the cry which went up from their broken and crushed hearts to heaven:—"O Lord God, to whom vengeance belongeth; O God, to whom vengeance belongeth, show thyself. Lift up thyself, thou Judge of the earth: render a reward to the proud. Lord, how long shall the wicked, how long shall the wicked triumph? They slay the widow and the stranger, and murder the fatherless." And though the Lord waited long, that the wicked might repent, and cease from violence and oppression, yet the cry of the helpless is answered at length. The "Judge of the earth hath lifted up himself," and is rendering "a reward to the proud." The pride, and haughty, overbearing insolence of the oppressor, is being returned into his own bosom—as saith the Lord: "The people of the land have used oppression, and exercised robbery, and have vexed the poor and needy: yea, they have oppressed the stranger wrongfully. Therefore, have I poured out mine indignation upon them; I have consumed them with the fire of my wrath: their own way have I recompensed upon their heads, saith the Lord God." Ezek. xxii. 29, 31.

Now, my fellow-citizens, we have, as a nation, a duty

to discharge, in relation to this evil system. Nor is it merely to remove it; for it is rapidly being removed, whether we intend it or not. We never could discover a method by which to bring our slavery to an end; and simply because we never were willing that it should end. If the people of the land had sincerely desired its end, it would have ended long, long ago. Because there has been nothing on the face of the earth, nor under it, to prevent its removal, but the unwillingness of the people. But "the Lord, in righteousness, is now making a short work" of it; and by his all-controlling providence, will bring it to an end, and that before long. But we, as a nation, should gladly concur, and devote our energies to the speedy consummation of the just and blessed work; rejoicing to have wiped away this foul stain, which has been to us, such a provocation for the Lord's anger, and standing reproach among the nations. And, besides, we ought, as a nation, before all men, and in the sight of Heaven, acknowledge our guilt, in so long upholding a system, of such enormous wickedness and oppression. And, as a nation, too, protect and make provision for those we have so long oppressed—the "harmless, landless, and homeless" multitudes now cast upon our care. And thus "break off our sins by righteousness, and our iniquities by showing mercy to the poor;" that the Lord may return, and heal our land, and bless us again, with peace and prosperity in all our borders.

The sins of the inhabitants of the land might be dwelt upon; for they are numerous and great. Such as Sabbath desecration, drunkenness and falsehood; dereliction of duty in the family—a sad want of family government; and, hence, a lamentable disregard of parental

authority: a reckless spirit of insubordination generally; with national pride and self-sufficiency; but there is ground to believe that all these, in a measure, spring from our *national forgetfulness of God*—that this is the fountain whence flow these evil streams. And in order to have healthful streams, we must purify the fountain; casting into it the salt of divine and unchangeable truth, concerning God, his law, his claims and supremacy over us as a nation. We commenced to build aside from the true foundation, and numerous evils must be the consequence. Let us begin anew, where we ought to begin: recognizing the rightful authority of God over us, and acknowledging our national subordination to that authority. This will be to begin *at the beginning*, and will have promise of a happy continuance: it will be laying a foundation for law, order, and stability, in every department of the social fabric. When the fountain is purified, by a recognition of our proper relations to God and his government, it will have a healing and saving influence on all the streams of our civil and social life.

Our sorrowful civil war has been protracted, much beyond our expectation when it commenced. A vast and mighty power has been brought to bear upon the rebellion, to crush it: the slaughter and destruction of the lives of our people have been fearful and distressing: the prayers of God's people have been ascending on both special and ordinary occasions; but the Lord's hand is stretched out against us still. And why so? The Book, that never mistakes, informs us why—"Behold, the Lord's hand is not shortened, that it cannot save; neither his ear heavy, that it cannot hear: But your iniquities have separated between you and your God, and

your sins have hid his face from you, that he will not hear.”—Isa. xlix. 1, 2. This is it, our iniquities have separated between us and our God. He says to a nation praying and yet transgressing—“When ye spread forth your hands I will hide mine eyes from you; yea, when ye make many prayers, I will not hear.” In such cases it is not merely prayer that is required; it is this—“Wash ye, make you clean, put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil; learn to do well; seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow.” This is the remedy which a God of infinite wisdom and loving-kindness prescribes; and if we adopt it, soon we shall realize the advantage of being guided by infinite wisdom. Peace will flow to us like a river, and prosperity like the waves of the sea.

“Whatsoever things were written aforetime, were written for our learning;” and see the case of Israel, when smitten before their enemies on account of Achan’s sin. Joshua and the Elders had recourse to, and continued in prayer: but prayer was not what was needed.—“The Lord said unto Joshua, Get thee up; wherefore liest thou thus upon thy face? \* \* \* \* Israel hath sinned; thou canst not stand before thine enemies, until ye take away the accursed thing from among you.” This is what is requisite in our case—to cease to do evil; and learn to do well—to repent, confess our sins, and forsake them. A great change is being wrought in our land; and let us all see to it, that it be for the better; a thorough and radical change, reaching to all our evils, and removing them; so as to have ours that nation, which the Most High will especially favor.



The great struggle of the nations is coming on apace: the judgments of the Almighty will soon descend; for the "Lord is arising to shake terribly the earth"—to shake the wicked, and wicked institutions out of it—"to destroy them that destroy the earth," and in their stead establish his own reign of righteousness and peace. And in the great conflict the only place of safety for us, will be "under the shadow of the Almighty." In the conflict we shall doubtless have to share; but let us see that we go into it duly prepared. Not in the strength of national pride, vainglorious boasting, and self-confidence; nor yet relying upon armies and navies, though we may have them. Of all this we have surely had enough; and recently, not a few impressive lessons, teaching us the folly and impiety of trusting in our own strength, and of giving the praise to the mere agency, instead of to the God of providence, who sent deliverance in the time of need. Many instances might be noted, but let two suffice. The "Merrimac" came forth on her mission of destruction to our navy, and ruin seemed inevitable, *when there was no help!* But the God of providence brought in the "Monitor," just at the hour of extremity, *and we were saved!* Then the glory and the praise of the nation were given to the Monitor; and so the Lord raised his winds and waves, and sunk her deep in the quick-sands, off the Albemarle coast! Afterwards the rebel ram "Atlanta" came forth, purposing, and probably competent, to destroy our fleets. But the unseen hand of a friendly Providence fastened her aground; so that "gal-lant Rogers," with the "Weehawken," made a quick and easy capture. Then the praise of Captain Rogers and the Weehawken sounded out from the voice of the

nation; and the Lord, from whom it was withheld, soon brought to an end the agency of both. The good captain he removed from earth, and with his mighty waters, carried the Weehawken down to the bottom of the deep; just at the very side of the cradle of rebellion! How striking these providences of God! to teach us the folly and wickedness of forgetting Him: refusing to acknowledge his timely interposition for our help: leaning upon human strength and wisdom—"Thus saith the Lord; Cursed *be* the man that trusteth in man, and maketh flesh his arm, and whose heart departeth from the Lord." "It is better to trust in the Lord than to put confidence in man: it is better to trust in the Lord than to put confidence in princes." If the Lord be on our side, we need not be afraid. And to have him on our side, let us own him as the God of our nation, acknowledge his supremacy over us, and regulate our affairs in accordance with his WILL. How could we go into a conflict with the nations, *acknowledging no God, and having no God?*

The time has now almost come, for the breaking up and overturning of the nations, both pagan and semi-pagan. Semi-paganism is to be cleaned out of Christendom ere long: the reign of Gentilism must soon come to an end; and it will be effected, either by national dissolution or reformation. Let us take care, then, to be a reforming nation, and not a broken and shattered, helpless wreck. If we do as we might and ought, we may escape this doom; and, on the contrary, be "strong in the Lord, and the power of his might." Our peace with other nations may not continue long. We have seen the disposition of some of them towards us; and with some of the European powers, we may have to reckon, for

their mean, cowardly, and unrighteous treatment of our nation, in the time of its sore trial and conflict for national existence.

But whatever our relations may be with other governments, let us be careful to secure good relations with Heaven's government; and then, for certain, the "strongest power" will be on our side, and we shall gloriously triumph over every foe. For, "In the name of the Lord, we shall lift up our banners;" and, "In the name of the Lord, we shall destroy them." "One shall chase a thousand, and two shall put ten thousand to flight." Then shall we be a truly great and happy people—permanent, peaceful, and prosperous. For, "The work of righteousness shall be peace; and the effect of righteousness, quietness and assurance for ever. And the people shall dwell in a peaceable habitation, in sure dwellings, and in quiet resting-places"—Isa. xxxii. 17, 18—having verified in us the truthful saying—"Righteousness exalteth a nation"—and we the happy people, "whose God is the Lord." Love, peace, and prosperity going forth together, and joyously smiling over the face of our entire broad land—the teeming millions, glad and harmonious, in the full realization of the countless advantages dispensed by our glorious UNION—one vast Republic of Freemen, liberty-loving and happy, *in our own institutions*, in the boundless munificence of earth, and the sweet approbation of Heaven!



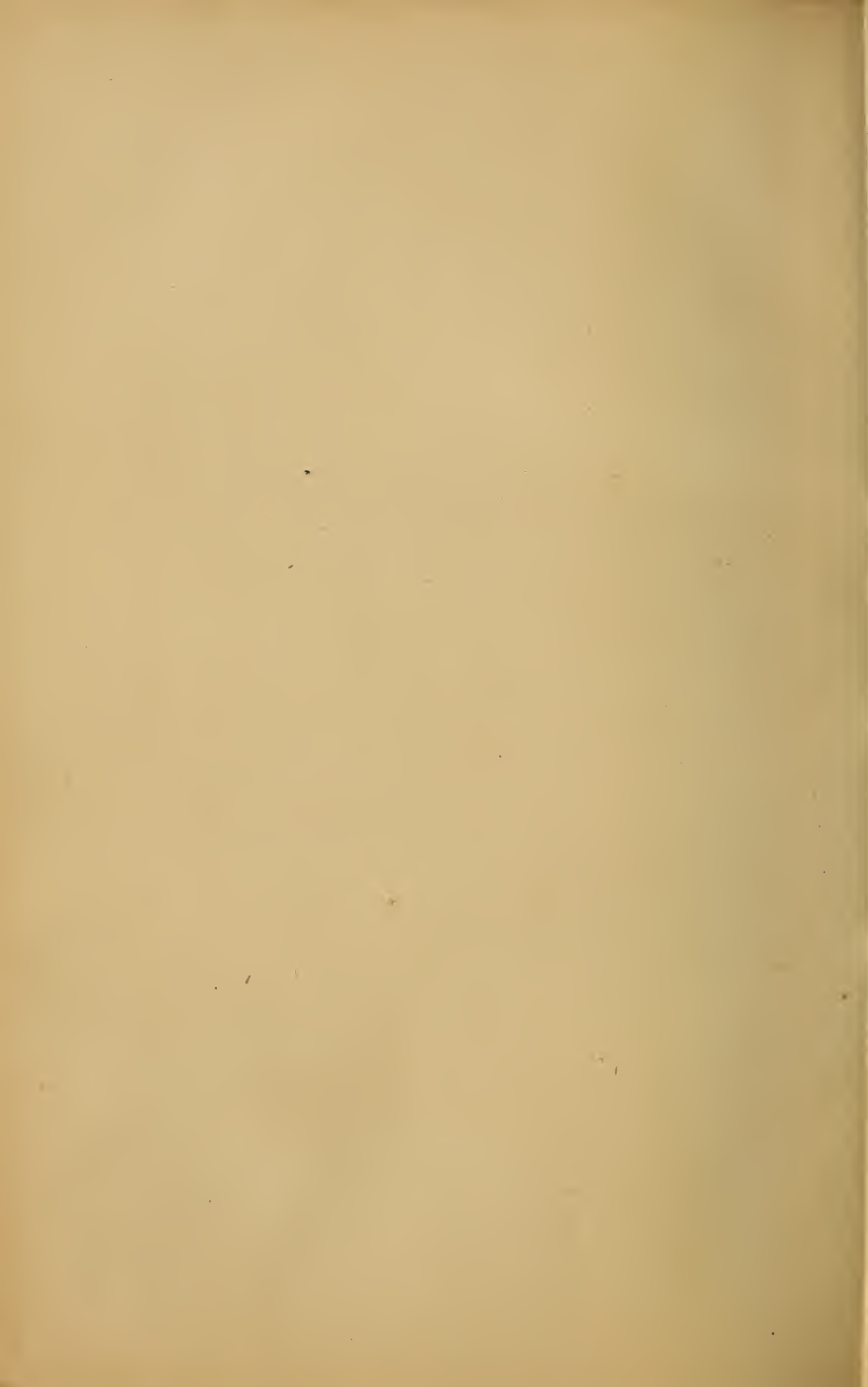
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